Letting the Cat out of the Bag.

See p. 8.

Workers' Dreadnought

PLENTY FOR ALL: POVERTY FOR NONE.

VOL. IX. No. 52. SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1923. WEEKLY.

LINES FROM W. J. LINTON.

WISDOM.

Let us be wise!
Nor sort with policies of present wrong,
Which serve none long:
We have no leisure for expediencies.

Let us be wise!
Nor mate with men unworthy of our cause;
Nor win applause
Of fools by being their accomplices!

Let us be wise!
Prudent as truthful: our determined course
Shall hold such force,
Nor Time nor Chance shall bar us from the prize.

INTEGRITY.

Let us be true!
Our cause is holy and our purpose pure:
Let us be sure
The means we choose hide not our aim from view!

Let us be true!
Our hope cannot consent to doubtful deeds:
Our strong will needs
None but clean hands our righteous work to do.

Let us be true!
Thought, word, and deed, even as our cause is pure;
And so endure
Firm to the end, whatever fate ensue!

INDUSTRY.

Let us work on!
Truly and wisely: ever persevere;
Nor faint, nor fear:
True, prudent industry hath ever won.

Let us work on!
Work bravely; prove our faithfulness by deeds.
Sow wild the seeds
Of toil, if we should reap! Let us work on!

Let us work on!
Work through all barrenness, nor count the cost:
No toil is lost;
Work prophesieth triumph: On! aye, on!

COURAGE.

Let us be brave!
What use to flinch? We have no ground to spare.
Outstep slow time audaciously, and have!

Let us be brave!
Bold, not foolhardy; bravely self-controlled
To strike or hold,
To advance or bide—howe'er the headstrong rave.
Let us be brave!
The true man falters never: come what may
He treads alway
The same straight path towards his hero-grave.

Constance Markievicz.

An Interview.

Constance Markievicz, the earliest warrior of the Sinn Fein Movement, who was condemned to death with Connolly and Pearse, has seen the Boy Scouts she trained in the early days of Sinn Fein, grow up to take foremost places in the ranks of the Republican Army.

During her brief visit to London she assured us that the Republicans are gaining ground in their struggle. The Irish people, she asserts, are overwhelmingly republican; but when the Treaty was first accepted by the section who rule the so-called Free State the people, she said, did not understand the position. The Free State faction used the Sinn Fein flag and its badge and uniform. They called their Parliament Dail Eirean still, and they continued to describe the Free State as Saor Stat, the Irish name for Republic. Their leader called himself President.

The scales of illusion were torn from the eyes of the people when the four leaders of the Four Courts were shot after five months' imprisonment. When the news was published, and it was known that the men had been buried beside Kevin Barry's grave, the people realised that the Four Courts leaders had died for the same cause as Kevin Barry.

The Four Courts leaders were denied even the consolation of saying good-bye to their families before execution. "The Free State has entered on a campaign to exterminate Republican leaders," she added.

"The fight has grown very ruthless," we observed.

"It has," she answered and declared that the Free State authorities have taken to torturing their prisoners.

We asked for particulars. She told us that a lad whom she knew, named Reily, had been arrested on suspicion, and branded on the arm with a red-hot iron with the letter P, for prisoner. He had to watch four others branded in the same way before his own turn came. By that time he was nearly fainting.

Another lad whom Constance Markievicz interviewed was arrested on suspicion by a Free State captain, whom she knew, and put under a cold hose for two hours. The lad was also badly battered about the head. He is now a physical wreck, and suffers from hysterical attacks.

She had seen a sworn statement by Joe Clark, who was arrested when taking the Republican paper to the newsagents. Clarke, in this statement, said that his eyelids had been twisted with pincers.

Two priests who were visiting the gaol had seen Furgus Murphy. His head had been so badly beaten with the butt-end of rifles that the priests were shocked by his appearance, and went to General Mulcahy and Minister Cosgrave to ask for a public inquiry into the man's treatment. The inquiry was refused.

On several occasions Free State soldiers have fired into the cells of Republican women prisoners. When they fired into Miss Doyle's cell they said they had done so because she was signalling. As a fact, the light was flickering. Mary Cummerford, another prisoner, was badly wounded in the thigh by this Free State sniping.

Over 150 Republican women are in prison untried. One of these is Miss Jacobs, a Pacifist and Quaker, whose only offence seems to be that she took charge of Mrs. Skeffington's little son during his mother's absence in America.

Constance Markievicz declares that there are many British soldiers in the Free State Army. She cited the following instances in support of her contention:

During the Black and Tan terror before the Truce, the British Army in Linaskeen, near Clones, in Co. Fermanagh, consisted of the Hampshire Regiment, 500 in number. After the Treaty was signed and the British troops returned to England, 86 of these soldiers, who were time-expired men, returned to Ireland to serve in the Free State Army. A Mr. Mason who was an officer in the Hampshires, and a local Unionist, has returned as a Brigadier-General of the Free State Army in that district.

A Mrs. O'Carrol, whose house was raided by the Free State troops, recognised the young man in charge of the party.

He said: "You needn't trouble to show me round: I've been here twice before."

Then she remembered that he had been in charge of the British soldiers who had raided her house on two occasions.

Numbers of men who were in the Royal Irish Constabulary have joined the Free State Army. This Army is partially clothed in khaki uniforms dyed green.

The warrior lady, who has no liking for political intrigue, waxed indignant in discussing the tactics of the Griffith-Collins party, regarding the election pact between the Republicans and Treatyists. In the election which followed the split in the Sinn Fein Party, when some accepted the Free State Treaty, and others stood out for the Republic, the Republicans desired, she said, that the voting should be by adult suffrage. The existing register had been compiled in 1916, and many young men had not registered on principle at the time. Arthur Griffith, nevertheless, opposed any change, and declared the taking of a new register to be impossible.

The Republican Army now declared that it would not permit any election to take place.

When the Sinn Fein convention met, a great desire to avoid civil war was manifest. Collins proposed a joint meeting of Republican and Treatyist representatives to cement all differences. The proposal was accepted and the meeting of representatives resulted in the electoral Pact. Under the Pact, Treaty and Republican candidates, in agreed proportions, were to go as a coalition to the electors, and ask them to elect them all.

Arthur Griffith, the crafty politician, succeeded, however, in slipping in a clause which destroyed the agreement. This clause stated that nothing in the Pact should prevent candidates representing any other interest from standing. This being agreed to by both sides, a number of independent candidates came

FAITH.

Let us have faith!
Faith, which is patience when Time lags behind:
The faithful mind
Works calmly in the certainty of faith.

Let us have faith!
Faith which o'erbridges gulfs of wide disaster;
Which can o'er master.
Most desperate odds: which doeth all it saith.
Let us have faith!
Even in our darkest attempt, our victory's pledge: the mighty wedge
That rives the toughest obstacle is faith.

OUR CAUSE.

So, Freedom thy great quarrel may we serve,
With truest zeal that, sensitive of blame,
Ever thy holy banner would preserve
As pure as woman's love or knightly fame!
And though detraction's flood we proudly breast,
Or, weakening, sink in that unfathomed sea,
Ever we'll keep aloft our banner, lest
Even the black spray soil its purity.
My life be branded and my name be flung
To infamy;—beloved, I will wear
Thy beauty on my shield, till even the tongue
Of falsehood echo truth, and own thee fair.

IRISH NEWS.

By Economic Section.

" It is we who ploughed the prairies, built the cities where they trade,
Dug the mines and built the factories, endless miles of railway laid.
Now we stand outcast and starving 'midst the pleasures we have made,
But the Union makes us strong."

Events are shaping towards a politician's peace move in Ireland. With legalised murder on one side, and the fountain-pen on the other, it can be easily understood how anyone except the people who have nothing to lose but their chains may suffer from cold feet. The politicians have been drifting further and further from the people who are waging the war against Big Business. How far they have drifted will not be realised until they attempt to patch up the struggle with . . . words.

The Economic Section awaits the attempt with equanimity. There will be no peace with, or for, the Irish workers until we get what we started out to get—this country for all, with every farm and factory, every ship and railroad. It is, of course, certain that the bosses will agree to any kind of political compromise if necessary, as such is not harmful to them, and can easily be disregarded, if occasion arises. It is ever so much easier to snap their fingers in the faces of a bunch of politicians, as they did before, than to deal with a body of industrially organised and armed workers.

It is likewise certain that if the bosses once get us disarmed and get us talking, down we shall go to ruthless exploitation and oppression. The programme of legal murder is to be intensified in the future if the peace move fails. Remember that phrase: " Sign—or immediate and horrible warfare." The threat can be met, by working-class solidarity. The days of organising by shop and farm are not so far distant as some politicians would like them to be.

Our fellow-workers in Ulster are also beginning to do a little self-saving.

We see very clearly the dangers and difficulties that confront us. We see an apathetic working class in Britain ready to howl for our blood when the masters tell them. We see some of our class-conscious comrades pursuing non-existent unity with Labour fakirs, just as the Republican politicians did with the Free State. We see men in the working-class movement who look to a debating society at Westminster to solve their difficulties. We see internationalists whose internationalism cannot bridge the narrow chasm of the Irish Sea. We also see that to fight our fight alone means intensified hardships.

Constance Markievicz.—Cont. from p. 1.

forward, one of whom, Mr. Darral Figgis, who was an employee of the Free State Party, stood nominally as a farmers' candidate. At the last moment these candidates pasted Dublin with huge posters: " Vote for the Treaty and Peace."

Michael Collins, who had been in London to take his orders from the British Cabinet, now returned, and urged the electorate to vote for whom they liked, and not to mind the Pact. The Independent candidate urged the election of themselves and the Free State candidates. The Pact was broken everywhere, with the result that some Republicans lost their seats, but the election was, nevertheless, won for the Coalition and Peace by 94 against 36 Independents. Of these, 17 Labour men had publicly declared that if elected they would prevent the present Coalition re-opening their quarrel."

So that there was a huge majority of candidates elected with no mandate except to avoid civil war.

Meanwhile the Free State Government was preparing for war: procuring armoured cars etc., from the British.

After the election there was a long delay in summoning Parliament, and meanwhile the Free State Government began the war by turning its guns on the Republicans in the Four Courts.

When Parliament was at length summoned, the old Sinn Fein stalwart, Laurence Ginnell, asked, what everyone was asking, whether the newly elected body was the Provisional Parliament representing 26 counties set up by the Downing Street Treaty, or whether it was still Dail Eirean, the organ of the Irish Republic representing all Ireland. Ginnell was not answered: he was ejected from the Chamber.

Being informed that there are many desertions from the Free State Army to the Republican Army, we asked Constance Markievicz for information on this point. She replied that the recruits coming to the Republicans from the Free State forces are numerous. When a Republican prisoner is condemned to death, several times his Free State guards have deserted with him and brought him back to the Republicans.

" What is your opinion of the Irish Trade Union and Labour Party Movement? " we **next inquired.**

" The leaders are honest, I think," she said, " but they have no vision. The rank and file are honest; but they are dominated by Johnson, who is more occupied with rates of wages than with abolishing the wage system."

She went on to tell us that originally the Dail Eirean Cabinet Ministers were paid £500 a year. Then a committee had been formed to fix the salaries of Ministers, and Cathal O'Shannon, of the Labour Party, had been made the chairman of the Committee. The Committee had raised the salaries of the President to £2,500, Ministers, and assistant Ministers and Ministers without portfolios to £1,700, £1,500 and £1,000 a year.

The Members of Parliament are paid £300 a year. People now say that the Labour Members arranged to have this salary described as expenses, because the paid officials of the Irish Transport Workers may not take paid employment also outside the Trade Union Movement.

The Countess told us that when she was Minister of Labour, receiving £10 a week, her assistant—a young man whom she had to train in Labour matters received £6 a week, and the typists started in her office at £3 a week. She asked us ingeniously whether we did not think such wages would be considered fair, even under Communism.

We replied that under Communism there will be no wages at all.

" Not even for Government officials? " she asked.

" Neither for them, nor others," we answered. " The community can produce more than its members can use, and all will have what they require at will, without any question of direct reward for services rendered."

We asked the ex-Labour Minister her opinion of the Soviets which have sprung up in Ireland in the course of various industrial disputes. She confessed that she had taken a part in damping them down. She protested that, as far as she can see, the people are not ready for them yet. One of the creameries taken over by the workers, she believed, had been well managed; she thought the others had not. Her part had been to arbitrate between employers and employed in the interests of Irish unity. Like Johnson, of the Labour Party, her attention had been given to other objects than the abolition of the wage system. She did not seem to realise that.

We asked her views on Communism. She declared herself in favour of the Gaelic State, which she insisted was the antithisis of British Capitalism. She summed up her wishes in the phrase: " Equality and free education "; but she made it plain that she did not desire to call herself a Communist. She insisted that " everyone in Ireland," or at least every Republican, wants a Republic based on the old Gaelic civilisation.

In this we totally disagree with her: we believe that those who desire a Workers' Republic, a Communist Republic, must prepare the necessary opinion to back it, and the organisation to promote it. Otherwise, when the Irish Republic is established it will be as far from Communism as the Republics of France, Germany, or the United States.

FROM A SMALL HOLDER.

A small holder writes from Suffolk:

" I cannot pay for any papers, as I cannot get enough to eat. I am a believer in all being equal; but the workers will not pull together. They are all waiting for someone to do something for them.

" I am a small holder, having 14½ acres of land. I cannot make a living. I have to buy maize at 1/8 a stone and sell my eggs at 1/4 a dozen. One can only sell here to the middle[redacted], and there is nothing left for the producer.

" The Indians in Paraguay are far better off.

The labourers here will not pay into a Union; they go to the pub. for three or four pints of beer, and call the masters black.

" Do you not think if we were to emigrate to Russia, we Socialists would be able to do it better? Under the system of greed and grab we shall never do any good.

" Labour men will never get things right by talking: they will have to work.

" C. CLAYTON."

LIBERTY.

" We all declare for liberty; but in using the same **word** we do not all mean the same **thing.** With some the word may mean for each to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labour; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labour. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the two things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny."—Abraham Lincoln.

TO BENEFIT? COTTON GROWING.

The " Navayuga," an Indian non-co-operation journal of Guntar, states that the Government is about to levy a tax of 4 annas a bale on cotton grown in India. The pretext is " to provide for the establishment of funds for improving cotton growing in India." The " Navayuga," however, points out that this will increase the price of Indian-grown cotton and strike a blow at the movement to use only Indian goods and to boycott British goods. The British cotton manufacturers, it declares, will be the sole beneficiaries.

LESSONS FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

LIGHT ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

II.

In the last lesson we saw that all peoples have passed through primitive Communism. We saw that the Hebrews, when a wandering desert people, were Communists; that after they conquered Canaan, in the 12th century B.C., they at first held the land in common, but that gradually, like the Canaanites before them, they established private property, with its attendant evils. We saw, too, that the prophets of the Old Testament were agitators, who opposed private property and desired the return of Communism.

In 621 B.C. an attempt was made to enact reform laws to palliate the private property system. These laws are set forth in Deuteronomy and Leviticus. Turn to the Old Testament and read it for yourself. The main points of these reform laws were the relief of debtors and re-distribution of the land. It was asserted that the land belonged to Jahweh, which is as much as to say it belonged to the whole people. The land was not to be sold outright: it was to be subject to periodical redistribution, in order that the evils of the private property system might not grow too great; that the few might not be excessively rich and the many excessively poor "And the land shall not be sold for ever." The instruction is clear.

There was to be a return to freedom and equality every fifty years, when the land would be re-distributed:

> "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family."

The last phrase refers to the fact that debtors became the slaves of their creditors The wire-pullers and compromisers of those early days induced those who were struggling to re-establish Communism to accept instead some palliative reforms, which failed, as all palliation of the private property system has failed, and will fail in every age, until the entire system be abolished. Those who were struggling with the private property system were prevailed upon to accept a re-distribution of the land once in fifty years, but they naturally insisted on something more to alleviate the lot of the debtor slaves. A reform of their condition, and release at the end of seven years was therefore promised. In Leviticus XXV. we find the promises set forth:

> "If thy brother be waxen poor with thee, and sell himself with thee, thou shalt not make him to serve as a bond-servant, but as a hired servant, and as a sojourner he shall serve with thee unto the year of jubilee. And then shall he depart from thee; both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his brothers."

Deuteronomy XV.:

> "Every creditor shall release that which he hath lent unto his neighbour. He shall not exact it of his neighbour, because the Lord's release hath been proclaimed. Howbeit there shall be no poor among you. . . . If there be among you a poor man of one of the brethren, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor stint thy hand from thy poor brother. Beware there be not a base thought in thine heart, saying: The year of release is at hand (and my money will be lost). Thou shalt surely open thy hand unto thy brother, to the needy, and to the poor in the land. And if thy brother, an Hebrew man or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, even in the seventh year thou shalt let them go free from thee."

Mortgage rights were restricted. In Deuteronomy (XXIV. 10-13) we find also:

> "When thou dost lend thy neighbour any manner of loan, thou shalt not go into his house to exact the pledge. Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge unto thee. And if he be a poor man thou shalt restore the pledge when the sun goeth down that the man may sleep in his own raiment."

Evidently the poor man of those days was likely to possess no more than a single wrap in which he slept in the cold of night. The provision that this should be restored to him that he might sleep with it round him is like the stipulation of the law to-day that when one's goods are distrained upon the broker may not take the bed. Our social morality has not progressed beyond that of 621 B.C. in this respect.

The old law was more humane in one respect than the present, for the goods of the widow might not be distrained upon.

A comrade who writes us in regard to last week's lesson, protests that Jahweh was a real god, and a Communist god, and that the ideals of Moses were higher than those of his contemporaries, because Jahweh communicated them to him. This comrade read once more Deuteronomy, the fifth book of Moses, which was supposed to announce the laws communicated to him by Jahweh to the Israelites. Therein the comrade will find many barbarous and anti-Communist provisions.

Deuteronomy XXIV., 14-15, provides that the wages of a hired servant shall be paid daily.

The traditions of the Communist period, the demand for a return to it, and the protest against the existence of starvation in a land of plenty, are indicated by the following passages:

> Deuteronomy XXIII., 24: "When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes, thy fill at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel."
>
> 25: "When thou comest into the standing corn of thy neighbour, then thou mayest pluck the ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not move a sickle unto thy neighbour's standing corn."
>
> Deuteronomy, Chapter XXIV., 19: "When thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field and nast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it; it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. . . ."
>
> 20: "When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow."
>
> 21: "When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it afterward: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow."

A poor compromise this for the old equal Communism, when all shared all they had as brothers and sisters.

Even this compromise, however, was not adhered to. The injunction regarding jubilee year was never put into practice.

Deuteronomy, chapter XXIII., says:

> 19. "Thou shall not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals; usury of anything that is lent upon usury.
>
> 20. "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon money."

Usury, however, continued, and, of course, continues to this day. It is not only the pawnbroker and so-called moneylenders, remember, who practise usury, but whoever invests money and receives interest upon it inevsts money and receives interest upon it.

Nehmiah protested about 500 B.C. against the practice of usury, and made bitter complaint that the people were in debt and suffered in bondage and from the mortgaging of fields and vineyards.

The Talmud, in which are codified the Hebrew laws that had grown up on the basis of private property, shows that the law of the seven-yearly release was formally repealed. The Talmud excuses the repeal, on the ground that loans would be refused if the debtor could claim release in seven years:

> "If the fear of release is to be maintained, the door would have to be closed to borrowers. . . ."
>
> "No evil thoughts should be allowed to arise in the heart so that help would be refused on account of the proximity of the year of release."

Thus the reforms came to nothing.

(To be continued.)

COMMUNIST LIFE CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Editor,—

I was pleased to see your notes in the "Dreadnought" this week re Communists endeavouring to help themselves.

I have recently given a series of lectures on the subject, as I have come to the conclusion that all the working-class organisations are either actively assisting the Capitalists to keep the present system going, or at the best only marking time, and that the time has arrived when a new move should be made.

I go further than you suggest, and think that a national * move should be made, and that comrades should get into communication with each other and form into local groups, and, through these, to district centres, so that mutual advice and assistance can be given. The better and wider distribution of food and other products could thus be organised, and comrades in towns could establish colonies, to which they could cycle at week-ends for recreation, or to give help to the people of the district. Their children could spend the summer holidays in such colonies in congenial companionship.

Those comrades in the towns could also organise among themselves to produce all that they possibly can, and could exchange or give to bazaars for the purpose of getting funds for the extension of colonies, where they could get wholesome food in the way of eggs, jams, fruit, etc., instead of purchasing, as at present, from the Capitalists, who are thereby making a profit from some person's labour.

Logically, no Socialist should need this suggestion; they should have been doing this years ago. I agree with Tolstoy when he said: "If you are against the exploiter, then do not assist him."

"Yours fraternally,

J. S. H.

* The "Communist Life" Hon. Sec., A. Hodson, 36 St. Peter's Hill, Grantham, has been established to promote such groups.

MUTUAL AID.

To-day, as never before, the view is held that deep and real changes must be brought about if any permanent social improvement is to be achieved.

The writer firmly believes there is a place for the mass movement, and just as firmly that the individual can, and ought, to face the problem as an individual.

Individuals can get together to discover ways and means of co-operating. What any group can do depends entirely on its constructive capacities, and their opportunities.

The first step is to get together with the object of doing something on a social service basis. Not having common ownership, we must buy our materials, not for the purpose of profit-making, but for the purpose of mutual aid. Our capacity to buy in these days is limited; but we desire freedom, and sacrifices are worth while for such an object. We have sacrificed much—almost everything—to provide comfort, luxury and power for a few. Now we must be prepared to sacrifice some of our few pleasures for the purpose of helping each other. We must divert money spent on tobacco, beer, sweets, cinemas, and other things to a fund, however small, which is formed for the express purpose of enabling us to do those things helpful to all who will join a group for mutual aid.

E. B.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

Three Months for Sleeping in a Shooting-box.

NOWHERE TO LIVE is a common cry to-day, and authority strikes severely whoever dare take unauthorised shelter in even the poorest hut or hovel. The magistrates of Wanford, near Exeter, have sentenced a homeless and unemployed ex-soldier, discharged from the Army in 1919, to three months' imprisonment, because he and his wife and two boys, aged eight and two, were found sleeping in a shooting-box on beds of bracken. The charge was neglect of the children by keeping them under such conditions; but the real crime was daring to take refuge in a rich man's empty shooting-box.

* * *

Pushing a Truck Full of Money.

THE OLD MAN OF EIGHTY, employed by the Maidenhead Gas Company to push a truck full of money from the slot machines, and paid 15/- a week for his toil, seems to symbolise the position of the human race under the Capitalist system. To maintain the system which keeps the few in luxury, an appalling load of useless and ill-requited labour is borne by the race. More than two-thirds of our population is engaged in the useless work of buying, selling, advertising, accounting, and other labours attendant on the making of profit. The old man who pushed the truck of money stole 6d., and was prosecuted. The magistrates bound him over to be of good behaviour, but ordered him to pay 17/6 costs—more than a week's wage!

* * *

Prime Minister Flouts Miners.

MR. BONAR LAW has curtly refused to do anything to alleviate the lot of the miners. He told the M.F.G.B. officials to wait for an improvement in wages. Mr. Frank Hodges said: "It is like waiting for the hearse to come," and declared that the reductions in the March and April wages would be bigger than the January and February advances. "They will be better than they were in August even then," replied the Prime Minister. To the sarcastic interjection of Mr. Stephen Walsh, "Hope springs eternal in the human breast," Mr. Law answered: "That is the only thing that is left. I am sorry I cannot do anything more." The workers who voted for Mr. Law's party, and who tolerate the system of which his party is a bulwark, are being severely punished for their folly.

The 'busmen, faced with a threatened wage reduction, the other day handled the situation with a vigour which left their Union officials in the position merely of carrying out their instructions. The employers were impressed by the fact that the 'busmen meant to fight, and withdrew the proposed reductions. The miners might not win such an easy victory as the 'busmen, it is true; the interests arrayed against them are more powerful than those the 'busmen had to face; but the miners have a much older fighting tradition: they are a much larger body, more compactly massed, better able to put up a crucial fight.

They have gone further than any other body of workers; they won the seven-hour day and a sort of minimum wage. They ought by now to have got beyond the struggle merely to increase wages, merely to decrease hours. They ought to be prepared to fight for the abolition of the wage system now. They would have been ready if all those in the mining area who call themselves Socialists, Communists and Anarchists had educated, agitated, and organised for the abolition of the wage system, instead of for reforms within the wage system. The miners could be prepared, at least to begin the great struggle, if only a determined effort to that end were made now by a section of the miners no larger than that which prepared the "Miners' Next Step." Since that production the Left Wing in the mines has initiated no important new policy. The Left Wing rested long upon the laurels won in the forward struggle it once made. Those old laurels have now withered altogether away.

* * *

Zapataland.

THE INDUSTRIAL REPUBLIC of Zapataland, set up in the year 1911, has been overthrown. The New York "Call" of February 13th, 1923, reports that Zapata, the leader of the revolution, was murdered by a supposed friend, who was in the service of Carranza, President of Mexico. Apparently the republic was then conquered by Carranza.

Huerta, who succeeded Carranza as President; and Obregan, who succeeded Huerta, promised to restore the land to the villages holding title to it under old Spanish law, by which the land cannot be sold. The land of Zapataland, otherwise Morelos, is now being restored, and only 25 villages out of 145 have not yet got back their land.

FROM THE EDITOR.

Dear Comrades,—

It is vital to the continuance of the paper that we should receive a sufficient number of regular weekly or monthly donations to enable us to carry on until the circulation grows enough to enable us to cover expenses.

A few of us have put up a hard fight to maintain the paper. We must have more support if we are to continue. This is definite.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Three years of struggle have worked havoc with the sugar refineries. These are no longer in the hands of the people. According to the "Call," the Government is making efforts to enlist foreign capital in re-establishing the business. The Government will subscribe half the capital, the capitalists the rest. Later the Government will sell its stock in small lots to the sugar-cane growers who bring their product to the refinery.

This state of affairs is a poor substitute for the free Communism described in a recent issue of the "Dreadnought," which obtained in Zapataland for upwards of seven years. Nevertheless, Mexico goes too far for the British Government, which, in reply to a Parliamentary question last week stated that it will not recognise Mexico, as it is not satisfied that property is safe there.

The little Communist republics which spring up, even though they may be crushed for the time being, are nevertheless preparing the way for the coming of the great change.

* * *

A Peasants' Revolt in Mexico.

THE RETURN OF THE LANDS to the peasants of what was for a time called Zapataland, is part of a general movement in Mexico: the outcome of a peasants' revolt against landlordism. The peasants of Ticoman, only about six miles north of Mexico, seized the lands surrounding their village on January 20th. They came together and marked out 12 acres of land for each family. The people of neighbouring villages are doing the same thing. The district comprises 10,000 hectaires (a hectaire equals about 2½ acres). This land is now claimed by four landlords; but according to the ancient Spanish grants it belongs to a number of villages, comprising 10,000 peasant families. The lands were taken away from the peasant owners in various ways, and the former owners came to work as labourers. At the overthrow of President Diaz the peasants demanded the return of their lands. They were told to wait a little; but President succeeded President, without result. At last, with Leon Rojas as their leader, the peasants began to arm themselves. The landlords were notified by the armed peasantry that they must cease to work the land. As they had done before, the landlords appealed to the local Governor, who warned the peasants that if they should interfere with the landlords, troops would be sent to subdue them. The peasants replied that they were well armed and ready to meet the troops. The troops arrived, but only to tell the landlords to vacate the lands. The peasants were so strong that the Government dared not interfere with them.

* * *

Ireland's Warfare.

IT HAS LONG BEEN EVIDENT that the Treaty by which some of the Irish abandoned their fight to secure an independent republic, in order to secure immediate peace, would bring no peace to Ireland. The Free State and the Republicans indulge in mutual reprisals, and the warfare becomes ever more sanguinary. It has frequently been stated in our columns that a growing number of soldiers of the Free State Army is deserting to the Republicans. A "Times" correspondent now corroborates our assertions, saying:

> "It is common knowledge that the Army is trustworthy only in parts; that a large proportion of it, variously estimated, sympathises with the Republican Cause; that its movements have over and over again been betrayed before they could be carried out; and that officers and men have trafficked at times in supplies and munitions with the enemy."

The fact is that the Republican forces are as unconquered as they were in the days of the Black and Tans, when the Lloyd George Government found it advisable to call a truce. Nay, more: the Free State Government is far less able to hold the Republicans in check than was the British occupation.

Clearly the warfare is too costly and too disturbing to continue indefinitely without some serious effort being made to check it by the Imperial Government in Britain, which still maintains the hold on Ireland that is the cause of Ireland's warfare.

More would have been heard of the question in Parliament were it not that every Party there, including the Labour Party, had pledged its adherence to the Free State Treaty and was anxious, for the sake of its own reputation for political sagacity, to pretend that the Irish question was now definitely settled. Murder, however, will out; and the gory state of Ireland cannot permanently be ignored and denied, even in Westminster and Whitehall. The Free State cannot stand: the resignations panic has already begun amongst its officials, and the recruitment of substitutes will become increasingly difficult. Moreover, the Free State, always at war, can be nothing but a costly and bankrupt pensioner upon this country.

Presently the British Government will be faced with but two alternatives—either to reconquer Ireland, or to set her free. No Party in Parliament has the courage and sincerity to intimate this fact to the Government. Mr Ramsay Macdonald said that during this session the Labour Party would fight and think hard. Hitherto the Labour Party policy on Ireland has followed that of Mr. Asquith. The Labour Party has certainly proved its incapacity to think on this question.

* * *

Mussolini's Economic Policy.

THE FASCIST GOVERNMENT is applying itself systematically to laying new burdens on the backs of the working population of Italy. All grades of employees of the State, the Municipalities, the railways, tramways, etc., have a tax of 10 per cent. deducted from their

wages. Working hours on the railways have been increased, and 17,000 workers discharged. Peasants who till their own land are now to pay income tax for the first time A move which will be pleasing to Free Traders, but which is said to be introduced in the interests of the industrial Capitalists, in order that they may reduce wages, is the great reduction on the corn duty from 11 gold lire to 4: it has even been suggested it may come down to 1½ lire. The agriculturists will feel the pressure of increased foreign competition in consequence. Mussolini is the creature of the industrial Capitalists of Italy. Mussolini's Government stands for the industrial development of Italy. Its attempt to make the position of the small tiller of the soil untenable, so that he will be forced to sell his holding to a great landlord and go into the towns to work in a factory for his bread, is the method of supplying abundant cheap labour to the Capitalists which has been adopted in every industrialised country in the world. Italian Capitalists intend to be amongst the big competitors in the industrial contest. Their capacities in that direction are facilitated by Italy's great natural opportunities for generating electric power by the use of her many waterfalls. Mineral wealth in and adjacent to the territories annexed from Austria at the close of the war are further sources of industrial power; and Italy itself is full of hitherto unexplored sources of wealth to the enterprising Capitalist.

The English worker who cannot obtain employment: the man who has invested his little all in his manufacturing plant in England, and finds he can no longer cover expenses, may look gloomily upon the Italian competitor. The man with money to invest will take up shares in an Italian company as readily as in a British one, and will live in whichever country he pleases without working.

It must not be imagined, however, that Italian industry is at present flourishing. In 1922 the situation was indeed dismal, the diminutions of total capital in the companies due to bankruptcy, etc., actually exceeded the investment of fresh capital. After the Fascist coup, however, things began to brighten up from the Capitalist standpoint, and the value of Italian money has increased 80 per cent. since Mussolini came to power. World Capitalism considers that Italian Capitalism secured a new lease of life when Mussolini forced himself into his office.

* * *

French Occupy More German Cities.

THE OCCUPATION of several more German cities by the French is said to be a reprisal for sabotage of German railway and industrial plant by Germans. As a matter of fact the French reply to German sabotage is to declare it punishable by death. The seizure of German cities is but part of the ruthlessly executed and deliberately conceived plan to gain control of German industrial districts. M. Jacques Bainville, in the French newspaper "Liberté," puts the position with but little camouflage:

> "From Switzerland to Holland we now control, we now hold the Rhine. . . . It means for France an increase in her security from the side of Germany and an increase of her influence in Europe. As a political reality of vast import it should be noted in Berlin, in London, at Berne, and at The Hague, that we hold the German Rhine."

* * *

The Jury and Dr. Stopes.

PRIVATE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT were robbed of their independent functions long ago. To-day their sole duty is to vote on Government business according to the dictates of their Party Whip. Juries also are being robbed of their independent functions. More and more they are being relegated to the position of bringing in the verdict directed by the Judge. Constantly they are being ordered to bring in a verdict of guilty when they express a desire to acquit; and when they signify by recommendations to mercy their belief that punishment is not merited, their recommendations are often ignored. In the libel action brought by Dr. Marie Stopes, the jury considered that she had been unfairly defamed, and awarded her £100 damages. The Judge has, however, intervened, set the opinion of the jury on one side, and declared that the case must be decided against Dr. Stopes. If the Judge is entitled to set aside the verdict thus, we fail to see the usefulness of empanelling a jury. In all honesty, let the practice be discarded, if this view of the law is to be allowed to rule.

The Judge's decision that the case must go against Dr. Stopes because the jury had found the allegations correct, though the comments were defamatory and unfair, appears to us to be entirely out of harmony with the law of libel as established by numerous precedents.

Our sympathy with Dr. Stopes is lessened by her letters to the "Nation" defending the prosecution of Bradlaugh and Beasant, Margaret Sanger, and the Aldreds for a birth-control propaganda which, in effect, is the same as her own. Dr. Stopes appears to imagine that her own propaganda is superior to that of others, because she absurdly puts it forth as directly inspired by supernatural agencies. In enlightened persons such claims arouse doubts as to the mental stability of Dr Stopes, whilst her repudiation of her co-propagandists excites contempt.

* * *

The Unemployed and a One Big Union.

J. T. MURPHY, in the correspondence issued by the Third International, makes a remarkable statement concerning the organised unemployed of this country. He asserts that the unemployed were on the verge of breaking away from the old Trade Unions and forming an All-Workers' Inter-industrial Union in opposition to the Trade Unions. But for the "prompt action" of the Communist Party, he declares that this would have happened.

We do not fully accept Mr. Murphy's statement, though it is true that the unemployed organisation had got so far as to call itself "The Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement"; and it is also true that at least one important section broke away from the main body because of its refusal to form a Workshop Council Movement covering all industries.

It is important, however, to learn from so authoritative a source as its International Correspondence that the Third International is working to prevent the only thing which would bring about a real and tangible advance in the Labour Movement of this country. The Third International, in its ignorance, has played disastrously into the hands of reaction.

* * *

How Long Will Bonar Law Government Last?

THE DEFEAT of Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen and Col. G. F. Stanley, the Minister of Health and Under-Secretary at the Home Office respectively, and their subsequent resignations from those offices, means the beginning of the end to the Government. The unemployment question, and the continual lowering of wages, for which the Government is held indirectly responsible, have bulked largely in both defeats. A change of Government will only mean, however, that another Government will take office and become unpopular in its turn—unless some great effort is made outside Parliament to change the situation.

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COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

(Continued from last week.)

C. Zinoviev, at the Second Congress of the Third International in Moscow, introduced a Thesis, declaring that no attempt should be made to form Soviets prior to the outbreak of the revolutionary crisis. He argued that, as such bodies would be powerless, or nearly so, their formation might bring the conception of the Soviets into proletarian contempt. The Thesis was adopted by the Congress, without discussion, and thereby became an axiom of the Third International.

This decision was of far-reaching significance: it meant that the Third International would no longer support the formation of Workshop Councils: and the building of an organisation upon the foundation of the Workshop Councils, taking in all workers in all industries with the revolutionary purpose of taking over and managing industry. At its inception the Third International had made much of the British Shop Stewards' Movement, of wartime growth, believing it, on the strength of Government and Press denunciations, to be a genuinely revolutionary force. Now that the Third International had set its face against pre-revolutionary Soviets, it sought to damp down Workshop Council Movements in all countries. This was a logical part of the changed policy of the Third International, which has veered round from the attempt to create new industrial revolutionary organisations, to acceptance of the existing craft unions.

The question as to whether the mere borrowed term, Soviet, shall be reserved for use in the actual crisis of revolution, is of small importance, though if not used previously it would probably miss being adopted as the slogan of the revolution.

The question of postponing the creation of the actual organisation till the hour of revolutionary crisis is, on the other hand, a fundamental one.

The idea expressed and insisted upon in that thesis of Zinoviev was that the Soviet must be a great mass movement, coming together in the electrical excitement of the crisis; the correctness of its structure; its actual Sovietness (to coin an adjective) being considered of secondary importance. A progressive growth, gradually branching out till the hour of crisis; a strong and well-tried organisation is not contemplated by the thesis. The need for a carefully conceived structure is ignored. Not organisation, but only propaganda for the Soviets is recommended.

Russia's dual Revolution was an affair of spontaneous outbursts, with no adequate organisation behind it. The Trade Unions, always a feeble growth, were crushed by the Czardom at the outbreak of the Great War of 1914. The Revolutionary political parties could call for a revolution; they could not carry it through; that was accomplished by the action of the revolutionary elements in the Army and Navy, in the workshops, on the railways, and on the land. That these revolutionaries at the point of production were mainly unorganised, was a disability, not an advantage. In Russia the Governemnt, first of the Czar, then of Kerensky, crumbled readily under the popular assault. The disability arising from the disorganised state of the workers was not felt in its full weightiness until after the Soviet Government had been established. Then it was realised that, though the Soviets were supposed to have taken power, the Soviet structure had yet to be created and made to function. The structure is still incomplete: it has functioned hardly at all. Administration has been largely by Government Departments, working often without the active, ready co-operation, sometimes even with the hostility of groups of workers who ought to have been taking a responsible share in administration To this cause must largely be attributed Soviet Russia's defeat on the economic front.

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY.

I.

It is not the purpose of this brief outline to undertake a critique of existing literature on the subject. Practically all of it is worthless, catering to a public craze; it pretends to establish much, but in reality accomplishes little; for it further confounds the already existing confoundedness.

Psychology as yet is no science. Its savants have not yet applied the method of science to it. Hitherto the only attempt to overthrow its old standards and establish it on the basis of science was undertaken by Spiller.

This, then, will be an attempt at a summary of Spiller's "Mind of Man." The writer lays claim to no originality in subject-matter, save perhaps in its method of presentation, and probably in its definite application to a revolutionary end.

Psychology is best described as the study of the process by which we satisfy our needs.

A "need" is a condition of instability of an organ, or the organism.

The thought process is a means, or the means, by which the higher organisms attempt to acquire a stability of the organism. or in other words to satisfy its needs.

All life, either in the aggregate or individual, is unstable, and every striving to maintain an equilibrium is metabolic; that is ever making the "me" or "we" into the "not me" or "not we"; and the "not me" or "not me" into the "we" and "me."

This is the function of all life, flora and fauna; and the thought process of all human life, whether black, yellow, brown, or white, is concomitant with it.

The human animal inherits an organism, with all the potentialities of that which fecundated it and gave it birth.

Its first and only needs are food; with fulness thereof it sleeps. Nourished, it grows. The elimination of its by-products, being of itself, develops no expression for or of its purpose. To something outside of itself, its mother. it later develops the cry (the rudiment of speech) for the assuaging of its primal need, food.

It grows: its muscles extend themselves to movement. A new interest in life emerges, that of the needs of muscular activity.

Growing amongst others, it imitates their acts and acquires the related muscular activity of play.

It now has possibly acquired by imitating its associates, and, through teaching by them, the method of expressing its need for food, for play, and sleep, and so on. It has few needs, and has acquired its thought habits through its associates, and, in the main, to the end of satisfying its needs. It has no idea of any restriction to the free satisfaction of the needs, and is angry (wronged) when such restrictions are imposed. and happy (righted) when free access exists. (We are not inferring here that the child is yet aware—that is conscious—of right or wrong.)

Later, according to its sex and the social status into which it was born, it is restricted in its activities, in order to economise the labour of those who attend to its needs. These restrictions are modified and co-ordinated by the views on society at large held by the adult or adults in whose care it is placed.

Generally, if it is of bourgeois parentage, it suffers little restriction at this age; but if of the workers, its conduct is constantly circumscribed so that it may not clash with the needs of its parents and associates.

In a complex world, its thoughts develop greater complexity through the methods by which the growing and greater complexity of its organism satisfies its needs in that world. Herewith it acquires the elements of its habit and thought coincident upon the social nature of its life.

To satisfy its need for expressing itself as others express themselves, and through the sources and channels in which others express themselves, it is first imitative of them in reading, writing, building, etc.

All this is native to the young of all races, colour, and creed. There is no Oriental or Occidental bias to life thus far.

Now, however, according to the national, climatic, and cultural state of the society into which it was born, it is taken by the existing educational institutions: religious, secular or philosophic, and its intellect moulded or trained to meet the needs and requirements of the particular social order into which it was born.

Still immature, the potentialities of the organism are moulded and modified to meet the requirements, not of its personal physical needs, but of the social organism in which it lives; and not to the majority needs of that social organism, but, in all known social systems, only to the needs of the dominant strata of that society.

Therein arises, and is glossed over and subordinated, the ever-present, antagonism of the organism to its environment, and also its acquiescence thereto. The functional instability of the organism ever endeavours to attain a condition of stability, but can only do so within the limits of the environment to the greater needs of which it is subjugated.

Herein arises the clash of interest and conception of what is right and what is wrong.

Let us return to the child about to enter school in modern Capitalist society, and in particular the worker's child. It is taught its A B C and the meaning of numbers by repetition of related muscular and neural activity.

It now has a rudimentary knowledge of the key and method by which its elders are acquainted with the things around them.

Normally, it further strives to increase the material of its understanding. It requires a knowledge of the addition, multiplication and subtraction of numbers, as also the connecting of letters into syllables and words.

It is awarely or semi-awarely the thought habits by which it is immediately satisfying its environal needs, and also acquiring the knowledge (habits of thought) to meet its future needs.

It might be stated here that, contrary to dictionary and encyclopaedic explanations, education is not the process of "educing" or "drawing out from the mind." The term and definition is vestigial of that period in which man thought that the process of thought was due to an etheral, evanescent psyche, which operated, as if by unseen strings, the "faculties" of man in order to give expression in thought. The brain of man was considered to be an inexhaustible reservoir of ideas, which could be set free by the psyche operating the flood-gates of the "faculties." The psyche only operated under conditions congenial to it. This theory was much the same as the sympathetic vibration theory of the latter-day modern spiritualists.

Education, then, is the process by which, from repeated impressions of a definite relationship, from repeated impressions of the same phase of the phenomena about us, mutual muscular and neural habits of reaction are formed, called thought. It will be observed later that even if it is only an assumed relationship being impressed on the part of the teacher by constant repetition modified by other considerations, the "thought" will be considered a "true" relationship of the phenomena.

The child progressively learns its arithmetic, writing, religion, geography, politics, literature, philosophy, morals, mechanics, etc., until on leaving school it is more or less equipped as a unit for functioning in Capitalist production. Arithmetic, writing, and mechanics are little associated with class bias, although their bent is developed to meet the class needs of Capitalist production.

It is quiet otherwise, with the teaching of morals, religion, politics, literature, philosophy and, to some extent, geography.

The very nature of the thought process of man is an attempt to unify and relate the phenomena about him to the end that he may satisfy his needs from the environment about him with a minimum of effort.

The child early becomes aware (conscious) that the bodily organism it inherits must function in the field of production, as does, or did, that of his parents.

Religion and ethics dictate the relationship of man, master and God, and definitely assign the worker's child, individually, or in the aggregate, in respect of it: all to the end of subjugating the personal needs of the individual to the needs of authority.

A viewpoint is impressed upon the youth in politics, literature, and philosophy, that moulds him to accept the dominant needs of trade in the interests of the traders, through whose prosperity, within the social organism, he may in minimum measure satisfy his needs.

Within the potentiality of their sexual development, the boys and girls assimilate the puritanism of the school, coupled with the crudity of the street. The immature viewpoint is therefore a bastard between the "greater love of purity," which is the guiding principle of the "better literature," and the "animalism" of the "snappy story," so avidiidly fostered as the true and elemental sex relationship, by the pimp and procurer, who benefit by the sale of the sexual merchandise under their control.

The child leaves school and enters one of the many avenues of employment offered by Capitalist production. Probably it can get no employment, or, if any, only casual. His or her ripening sex functions stir to thought the means of satisfying them in the intricacy of the environment into which the child is now thrust. New responsibilities, needs and obligations confront them. Its contact with other workers, older, suppressed, and suffering the insecurity of existence under Capitalist production, brings the worker within a sphere that questions and examines the teachings given to make him a docile instrument of Capitalism. If the individual has been successful, as an individual, in satisfying his needs within the mechanism of Capitalism, he assents to the philosophical view to which he or she was educated. However, since on the average the individual cannot live to her or himself alone, each one is more or less caught in the psychic mesh to which others of his group and acquaintance belong.

From this there arises for the worker a criticism of everything taught and appertaining to the history and philosophy of Capitalism. It gradually becomes evident to him that individual needs are class needs, and that as a rule the individual can only have security in life (that is, can only satisfy the needs of his organism, in so far as its class can in general satisfy its collective needs.

Therefore superimposed on man, whose primal needs are taken organically, food, clothing, housing, and the functioning of sex is a system of secondary needs.

The worker's historical need to review himself from an historical viewpoint develops. History then becomes no longer the "martial glory" of his class, but its continued suppression and extermination by successive historical classes in their struggle for power over each other.

The worker's political needs are a reflex of his enquiry into the nature of politics.

His philosophical needs are to investigate the basis on which the authority of his master rests, and to equip himself with the argument and instrument of its denial.

His psychological needs, or need for an understanding of psychology, arises out of his desire to combat the existing psychological order. Through all his learning, the worker is coupled, directly or indirectly, with his partial or complete awareness that he is an instrument for annihilating the prevailing mode of thought within his class, to the end of re-awakening his fellows to their right to the fulfilment of life and its multiple needs in an environment of beauty and pleasure created by his own class.

(Continued on p. 7.)

THE SEVEN THAT WERE HANGED.

By Leonid Andreyev
(A Famous Russian Author).

III.

"I MUST NOT BE HANGED."

A fortnight before the affair of the terrorists, in the same court, but before other judges, Ivan Yanson, a peasant, had been tried and sentenced to be hanged.

Ivan Yanson had been hired as a farm-hand by a well-to-do farmer, and was distinguished in no way from the other poor devils of his class. He was a native of Wesenberg, in Esthonia; for some years he had been advancing gradually towards the capital, passing from one farm to another. He had very little knowledge of Russian. As there were none of his countrymen living in the neighbourhood, and as his employer was a Russian named Lazaref, Yanson remained silent for almost two years. He said hardly a word to either man or beast. He led the horse to water and harnessed it without speaking to it, walking about it lazily, with short hesitating steps. When the horse began to run, Yanson did not say a word, but beat it cruelly with his enormous whip. Drink transformed his cold and wicked obstinacy into fury. The hissing of the lash and the regular and painful sound of his wooden shoes on the floor of the shed could be heard even at the farmhouse. To punish him for torturing the horse the farmer at first beat Yanson, but, not succeeding in correcting him, he gave it up.

Once or twice a month Yanson got drunk, especially when he took his master to the station. His employer once on board the train, Yanson drove a short distance away, and waited until the train had started.

Then he returned to the station, and got drunk at the buffet. He came back to the farm on the gallop, a distance of seven miles, beating the unfortunate beast unmercifully, giving it its head, and singing and shouting incomprehensible phrases in Esthonian. Sometimes silent, with set teeth, impelled by a whirlwind of indescribable fury, suffering, and enthusiasm, he was like a blind man in his mad career; he did not see the passers-by, he did not insult them, uphill and down he maintained his furious gait.

His master would have discharged him, but Yanson did not demand high wages, and his comrades were no better than he.

One day he received a letter, written in Esthonian; but as he did not know how to read or write, and as no one about him knew this language, Yanson threw it into the muck heap with savage indifference, as if he did not understand that it brought him news from his native country. Probably needing a woman, he tried to pay court to the girl employed on the farm. She repulsed him, for he was short and puny, and covered with hideous freckles; after that, he let her alone.

But, though he spoke little, Yanson listened continually. He listened to the desolate snow-covered fields, containing hillocks of frozen manure that resembled a series of little tombs heaped up by the snow; he listened to the bluish and limpid distance, the sonorous telegraph-poles. He alone knew what the fields and telegraph-poles were saying. He listened also to the conversation of men, the stories of murder, pillage, fire.

One night, in the village, the little church-bell began to ring in a feeble and lamentable way; flames appeared. Malefactors from nobody knew where were pillaging the neighbouring farm. They killed the owner and his wife, and set fire to the house. This caused a feeling of anxiety on the farm where Yanson lived; day and night the dogs were loose; the master kept a gun within reach of his bed. He wished also to give an old weapon to Yanson, but the latter, after examining it, shook his head and refused it. The farmer did not understand that Yanson had more confidence in the efficiency of his Finnish knife than in this rusty old machine.

"It would kill me myself," said he.

"You are only an imbecile, Ivan!"

And one winter evening, when the other farm-hand had gone to the station, this same Ivan Yanson, who was afraid of a gun, committed robbery and murder, and made an attempt at rape. He did it with astonishing simplicity. After shutting the servant in the kitchen, lazily, like a man almost dead with sleep, he approached his master from behind, and stabbed him several times in the back. The master fell unconscious; his wife began to cry and to run about the chamber. Showing his teeth, and holding his knife in his hand, Yanson began to ransack trunks and drawers. He found the money; then, as he had just seen the master's wife for the first time, he threw himself upon her to rape her, without the slightest premeditation. But he happened to drop his knife; and, as the woman was the stronger, she not only resisted Yanson, but half strangled him. At this moment the farmer recovered his senses, and the servant broke in the kitchen door and came in. Yanson fled. They took him an hour later, squatting in the corner of the shed, and scratching matches which continually went out. He was trying to set fire to the farm.

A few days later the farmer died. Yanson was tried and sentenced to death. In the Court one would have said that he did not understand what was going on; he viewed the large imposing hall without curiosity, and explored his nose with a shrunken finger that nothing disgusted. Only those who had seen him at church on Sunday could have guessed that he had done something in the way of making a toilet; he wore a knitted cravat of dirty red; in spots his hair was smooth and dark; in others it consisted of light thin locks, like wisps of straw on an uncultivated and devastated field.

When the sentence of death by hanging was pronounced, Yanson suddenly showed emotion. He turned scarlet, and began to untie and tie his cravat, as if it were choking him. Then he waved his arms without knowing why, and declared to the presiding judge, who had read the sentence:

"She has said that I must be hanged."

"'She' Who?" asked the presiding judge, in a deep bass voice.

Yanson pointed at the presiding judge with his finger, and, looking at him furtively, answered angrily:

"You!"

"Well?"

Again Yanson turned his eyes toward one of the judges, in whom he divined a friend, and repeated:

"She has said that I must be hanged. I must not be hanged."

"Take away the accused."

But Yanson still had time to repeat, in a grave tone of conviction:

"I must not be hanged."

And with his outstretched finger and irritated face, to which he tried in vain to give an air of gravity, he seemed so stupid that the guard, in violation of orders, said to him, in an undertone, as he led him away:

"Well, you are a famous imbecile, you are!"

"I must not be hanged!" repeated Yanson obstinately.

They shut him up again in the cell in which he had passed a month, and to which he had become accustomed, as he had become accustomed to everything: to blows, to brandy, to the desolate and snow-covered country sown with rounded hillocks resembling tombs. It even gave him pleasure to see his bed again, and his grated window, and to eat what they gave him; he had taken nothing since morning. The disagreeable thing was what had happened in court, about which he knew not what to think. He had no idea at all of what death by hanging was like.

The guard said to him, in a tone of remonstrange:

"Well, brother, there you are, hanged!"

"And when will they hang me" asked Yanson, in a tone of incredulity. The guard reflected.

"Ah! wait, brother; you must have companions; they do not disturb themselves for a single individual, and especially for a little fellow like you."

"Then, when?" insisted Yanson.

He was not offended that they did not want to take the trouble to hang him all alone; he did not believe in this excuse, and thought they simply wanted to put off the execution, and then pardon him.

"When? When?" resumed the guard. "It is not a question of hanging a dog, which one takes behind a shed and dispatches with a single blow! Is that what you would like, imbecile?"

"Why, no, I would not like it!" said Yanson suddenly, with a joyous grimace. "'Twas she that said I must be hanged; but I, I do not want to be hanged!"

And, for the first time in his life, perhaps, he began to laugh—a grinning and stupid laugh, but terribly gay. He seemed like a goose beginning to quack. The guard looked at Yanson in astonishment, and then knitted his brows: this stupid gaiety on the part of a man who was to be executed insulted the prison, the gallows itself, and made them ridiculous. And suddenly it seemed to the old guard, who had passed all his life in prison and considered the laws of the gaol as those of nature, that the prison and all of life were a sort of mad-house in which he, the guard, was the chief madman.

"The devil take you!" said he, spitting on the ground. "Why do you show your teeth? This is no wine-shop!"

"And I, I do not want to be hanged! Ha! ha! ha!"

Yanson laughed always.

"Satan!" replied the guard, crossing himself.

All the evening Yanson was calm, and even joyous. He repeated the phrase that he had uttered: "I must not be hanged," and so convincing, so irrefutable was it that he had no occasion for anxiety. He had long since forgotten his crime; sometimes he simply regretted that he had not succeeded in raping the woman. Soon he thought no more about the matter.

Every morning Yanson asked when he would be hanged, and every morning the guard answered him angrily:

"You have time enough." And he went out quickly, before Yanson began to laugh.

Thanks to this invariable exchange of words, Yanson persuaded himself that the execution would never take place; for whole days he lay upon his bed, dreaming vaguely of the desolate and snow-covered fields, of the buffet at the railway station, and also of things further away and more luminous. He was well fed in prison; he took on flesh.

"She would love me now," he said to himself, thinking of his master's wife. "Now I am as big as her husband."

He had only one desire—to drink brandy and course madly over the roads with his horse at full gallop.

(To be continued.)

(Continued from p. 6.)

The purpose of psychology, then, to the working class, is to lay bare the potentialities of thought, in order that its oneness and mechanism may be understood. To break down the compartmented logic, of the distinction between thinking and doing, and to establish the fact of the common basis of thought in the people of all nationalities, races and creeds.

The thought process arises in man, as in all animals, primarily from the fact that the organism we inherit has definite needs that must be satisfied, and the thought process is solely a means by which he satisfies them, however asthetic or philosophical their form.

We shall, in the next essay, attempt to illustrate the nature of the thought process in relation to matters of interest to-day.

An Omarish Spillerian
Dietzgenian Marxian.

Letting the Cat out of the Bag.

Mr. T. J. Murphy used to be prominent in the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement. He tells us that the organised unemployed nearly founded an organisation like that.

You know what that organisation is: t is built up from the workshops, and takes in all workers in all industries.

It would have been a splendid thing if the unemployed workers had done that, fellow-worker: they would have set a splendid example to the employed workers; and some of them do not need much urging to get into a movement like that if a big enough body were prepared to initiate it.

But Mr. Murphy geos on to tell the sad news that the movement was stopped oy someone's " prompt action ": whose " prompt action "?

Who was it that stopped this important forward move of the unemployed?

Was it the great employers' federations?

Was it the Government?

Was it the reactionary Trade Union officials, who understood that, once it got going, an all-workers rank and file organisation would be much more virile and effective than the lumbering old craft unions?

No, Mr. Murphy tells us, it was none of these.

Who, tnen?

Why, according to his own story, the rank and file were ready; but Mr. Murphy and his colleagues used all their efforts and managed to check the movement and side-track it into a mere joint Trafalgar Square demonstration with the Labour Party and Trade Union Council.

Mr. Murpny completes his story by telling the internationals that the Labour leaders failed, in return, even to accept the maintenance demands of the organised unemployed

What do you think of it, fellow-worker? Our opinion is that once a Communist Party goes in for Parliamentary politics it is doomed from the Communist point of view.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

GOLD.

What avails ingenious worth,
Sprightly wit or noble birth?
All these virtues useless prove,
Gold alone engages love.
May he be completely cursed
Who the sleeping mischief first
Waked to life:
Gold creates in brethren strife,
Gold destroys the parent's life;
Gold produces civil jars,
Murders, massacres, and wars.
But the worst effect of gold,
Love, alas, is bought and sold."

—Anacreon, a Greek poet of the first half of the sixth century.

OWING TO LACK OF FUNDS.

This issue goes to press with considerable delay.

We have closely surveyed the position.

We believe there are many potential buyers, both in London and in the provinces, who either ignore the existence or are under the impression we had ceased publication.

The only way to get in touch with them is to advertise our paper in the Labour weeklies and dailies. Such advertisements cost money, and in several cases we would have to pay cash.

Since our circulation—even without advertising—is progressively growing, we believe that with a little effort in that direction we could easily get 1,000 more readers in a couple of weeks.

This week our Esperanto columns, a topical cartoon, an article on Fascismo by Pietro Gualducci have been held over in the last-hour rush to get out the paper.

We hope to make an important announcement here next week.

Meanwhile, a comrade has paid for the printing of 1,000 extra copies for two weeks, to be distributed free outside London.

Comrades in the provinces willing to do some free house-to-house distribution should send us postage stamps: we will send them papers for the postage they cover.

On March 15th, 7.30 p.m., at the
BUILDERS' LABOURERS' HALL,
64 Blackfriars Road.
BEAUTY AND THE BEAST,
A Musical Play,
By Children of the Unemployed.
(Arranged by Mrs. Clara Cole.)
Admission by Programme, 6d.

March 16th.—Minerva Café, 8 p.m.
" Communism in Practice To-day,"
J. Humphrey.

Other Meetings.

South London Socialist Club, 131-3 Newington Causeway, S.E. 1. Sunday, March 25th, 6 p.m. Discussion on " The Money Question and Communism," opened by Sylvia Pankhurst. Admission free. Refreshments at moderate prices.

Edmonton Town Hall, Sunday, March 11th, 7.30 p.m., Sylvia Pankhurst.

Willesden Green, Hamilton Hall, 375 High Road, Wednesday, March 21st, 7.30 p.m. Debate, S. P. Viant and Sylvia Pankhurst, on " Can the workers emancipate themselves through Parliament? "

Central London Group (Hon. Secretary, S. Cahill) meets Thursday evenings, at 152 Fleet Street, 8 p.m. Volunteers for meetings, clerical work, etc., should write to the Secretary at 152 Fleet Street.

THE C.W.M. STALL.

Literature, new and second-hand, may be obtained at our Communist Workers' Movement Stall from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. on Saturdays, at the corner of Rosebery Avenue and Exmouth Street. Come to buy at the stall.

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